

The International Network of the Evangelical Motherhouse Diaconate

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With the establishment of the first evangelical deaconess motherhouse (*Mutterhaus*) in Kaiserswerth in 1836, Theodor and Friederike Fliedner laid the groundwork for an extensive network of similar-minded institutes.¹ The motherhouse was a training school for evangelical nurses, caregivers, and teachers of small children that also provided women with a space for mental and spiritual focus. Fliedner often took an active interest in the establishment of offshoot institutes and maintained a personal correspondence with motherhouses established independently of Kaiserswerth. His involvement included everything from advising newly formed offshoots, especially in the drafting of charters, to dispatching deaconesses from Kaiserswerth. Local women were also sent to Kaiserswerth in order to become trained. Through extensive communication between the institutes, an informal transnational network was formed with Kaiserswerth at the center of it all. With the founding of motherhouses elsewhere, the motherhouse in Kaiserswerth assumed the title of “mother of all mother houses” until the mid-twentieth century.² This claim has been refined with recent research but the fundamental meaning behind it remains undisputed.³ Kaiserswerth remains a place of memory for the entire deaconess community.⁴

Kaiserswerth not only supported the establishment of other motherhouses but also directly engaged with building up communities abroad. In 1846, Theodor Fliedner brought a team of deaconesses to London in order to lead the newly established German Hospital.⁵ Deaconesses were also dispatched to the United States, where they worked in hospitals and within communities. Founding new motherhouses within new locations proved to be more difficult. In the 1850s, the deaconess movement set its sights on the Near East. Protestant engagement in the Near East (*Orientalarbeit*) is demonstrated by the formation of the Anglican-German Bishopric in Jerusalem, which was supported by the British and Prussian royal houses, and in which Fliedner had influence over the selection of personnel.⁶ In 1851 the first deaconesses were sent to Jerusalem in order to look after the health of European missionaries. These deaconesses also concerned themselves with the upbringing of local girls, a move which would lay the groundwork for the spread of *Orientalarbeit*. Centers for nursing care and training were soon founded in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria, among other locations. “Kaiserswerth’s work in the Near East set the precedent for the work of the Inner Mission in the world. The engagement of Kaiserswerth was not only among the earliest in the region but also one of the most long-lasting endeavors, the traces of which can still be seen in ‘Talitha kumi,’ a children’s home run by the *Berliner Missionswerk* since 1975.”⁷ The impulse behind *Orientalarbeit* lay partly in the anti-Catholic stance of Fliedner, who wished to counteract the efforts of French missionaries in the region with a Protestant “Inner Mission.” In addition to a mission to the Jews, Fliedner also sought to evangelize the eastern churches, a task which he hoped to achieve by grooming local females. The diaconate’s abroad engagements were accompanied by much publicity, which in turn led to higher financial gifts.⁸ As a result, deployment to the Near East became an increasingly attractive prospect for young, educated women.

The abroad activities of the Kaiserswerth institute should only be briefly mentioned. The present article will concern itself much more with the organizational principles that laid the groundwork for the motherhouse deaconess institute and its international network. Particular attention will be paid to the first Norwegian motherhouse in order to gain insight into how the “export” model paved the way for the success of motherhouses outside of Kaiserswerth.

The Role of Women in the Motherhouse Diaconate

The motherhouse concept, borrowed from the Sisters of Mercy, allowed Fliedner to fit deaconesses into the patriarchal family model by subordinating them into a position of both independence and obedience. This system of organization regulated many aspects of the female diaconate, including the entry of unmarried women into the position of *Probeschwester* (the trial period before becoming a Sister), the women's training within the nursing and pedagogical fields, as well as the location of their employment. In contrast to Catholic orders, deaconesses were not obligated to dedicate their whole lives to service and could commit to serving only five years at a time. Over time, however, the deaconess model increasingly came to be viewed as a lifelong obligation. The motherhouse could formulate customs contracts with future employers in which the number of deaconesses to be sent was stipulated as well as the conditions under which the deaconesses would work. If these terms were not met, the motherhouse had the right to reclaim the sisters. In this way there was no risk for the deaconesses, since their payment came directly from the motherhouse itself.⁹ Because care was guaranteed for ill and elderly sisters, the deaconess position was especially attractive for women from the lower and middle classes.

The appointment of Fliedner's wives to the position of directress (*Vorsteherin*) did little to alter the subordinate, service-driven function of women. The directress still stood below Fliedner in the hierarchy and acted in compliance with his instructions. At the first transnational convention of motherhouses in 1861, the common maxim was agreed upon: "The priest is by divine ordination the natural head of the matron."¹⁰ This required "obedience [...] but not menial fear," as Friederike Fliedner formulated in her thoughts about the position.¹¹ All the same, her reports occasionally had a revision of the decisions taken by her husband, since "a director with the eyes of a man can only guess at what can only happen under the eyes of a woman."¹²

The position of deaconess offered an opportunity for women stuck in restrictive family circles or for unmarried women destined for idleness to take on a skilled profession for the first time. It was not Fliedner's intention to advance the cause of female emancipation, however. Fliedner saw single women as above all a means to advance the Inner Mission. In a speech given in 1869, Fliedner's successor Julius Disselhof explained the Christian subordination of women the following way: "Every woman who recognizes her duty to God, and who does not long for singular importance but rather holds it as her duty to be a helper and a servant, has understood her purpose."¹³ Although women formed the backbone of the motherhouse diaconate, their influence in matters of management remained limited. Furthermore, while new scopes of action were made available for deaconesses, traditional expectations about gender roles continued to pose limitations.

The Creation of an International Network within the Motherhouse Diaconate

Besides being an advisor to newly founded motherhouses, Fliedner also organized the first informational exchange during an anniversary celebration that was attended by many foreign guests. In order to solidify internal cohesion within the diaconate, Fliedner began holding general intercessions for the benefit of other institutes and sisters on the first Sunday of each month, "so that a spiritual bond of sacred love and communion may bind them closer to our Lord [...] No one shall not rejoice over it. Concord gives strength."¹⁴ The two-way exchange of information served publications such as *Armen- und Krankenfreund (Friend of the Poor and Sick)*, which printed its first issue in 1849. In the run-up to the first international gathering of evangelical motherhouses in 1861, Fliedner presented a comparative survey from which the similarities of the institutes' organizational

structures become apparent.¹⁵ Including Kaiserswerth, there were already twenty-seven motherhouses in existence with over 1,200 sisters. Among the topics discussed included the position of the motherhouses in relation to church and state, questions about internal organization, training, clothing, recruitment and deployment of sisters, as well as the reciprocal relationships between the institutes. A formal union was not founded at this time, as the motherhouses were intent on maintaining their autonomy; a binding order was not approved until 1901. Between the conferences, an elected executive committee led the affairs of the conference by acclamation.¹⁶ The preponderance of German motherhouses in the General Conference during the nineteenth century led to a dominance of German concerns on the agenda. The international isolation of Germany in the First World War ultimately led to the establishment in 1916 of the *Kaiserswerther Verband*, a union focused exclusively within Germany. The *Verband* often had to compete with state-run institutions, especially when it came to lobbying the government for funds. The union continues today to be closely connected to the Kaiserswerth General Conference.

The gathering of 1861 came to be known as the first Kaiserswerth General Conference, which thereafter came to take place every three years. Fliedner's calling up of the convention helped to institutionalize the reciprocal ties between the institutes. With the help of his network connections, he brought about a forum dedicated to external lobbying, the exchange of ideas, and reinsurance in organizational and theological questions concerning immaterial unities like information and standards.¹⁷

The concept of networks has become increasingly common in the fields of sociology, economics, and computer science.¹⁸ It would be difficult to find a single definition to encompass all applications of the word. The most comprehensive understanding of the word comes from Manuel Castells, who expressed networks as multiple interconnected nodes between which interactions result and the exact specifications of which are dependent on a respective network.¹⁹ In the case of the Kaiserswerth General Conference, the interaction consisted of the "export" of the deaconess model into the organizational arrangement of other motherhouses. It arose as an informal, relatively open network with many actors and loose relationships. The motherhouses established elsewhere after the example of Kaiserswerth can be thought of in economic terms as franchise undertakings, wherein the business risks are minimized through the extensive adoption of the original business idea and the proven and trusted organizational form. Nonetheless, the involved relationships remained purely informal without any underlying contractual obligations.

Other charitable models developed in opposition to the Kaiserswerth model. The small town on the Rhine, which must have gained a well-nigh legendary reputation during the nineteenth century, was visited by many upper-class women from England and France. The most well-known of these women, Florence Nightingale, would come to found a purely secular nursing system in Great Britain, which differed from the theological system based around the deaconess. Her groundbreaking activities in caring for injured British soldiers during the Crimean War prompted the Swiss social activist Henry Dunant to later establish the International Red Cross organization.

The "Corporate Identity" of the Motherhouse Diaconate

Besides building up the motherhouse principle, Kaiserswerth also imparted many of the abstract concepts and external trappings of this new profession for unmarried women. These distinctive traits continue to shape the image and the collective identity of motherhouses and their offshoot organizations up to the present day.²⁰

Theodor Fliedner initially regarded newly initiated women as caregivers (*Pflegerinnen*), although as early as 1838 the term “sister” (*Schwester*) was also used. Sisters not only had to take care of ill persons, but they also had to live together in a community of sisterhood. Technical training and the formation of a work ethos within the deaconess community marked a mile stone in the professionalization of nursing care, while at the same time intensifying the monopoly of theological confessional care over secular care until the twentieth century.²¹ In German-speaking areas, the term “sister” quickly came to refer to all women active in nursing care, both secular and theological.²² This double-meaning of the term is not to be found in other languages.²³

As an external marker of their new standing, *Pflegerinnen* received a uniform that was fashioned after the outfits of bourgeoisie women.²⁴ The bonnet raised their social status to match that of a married woman, as they could now move freely between nursing wards outside the motherhouse without being scandalized. Free movement was a privilege that single women generally could not enjoy until the twentieth century. Through this external marker, deaconesses were immediately recognized as belonging to a religious community, which contributed not insignificantly to their social standing.²⁵

The most important symbol of the motherhouse diaconate is the pigeon. Theodor Fliedner considered the bird’s attributes as constitutive of the qualities necessary for a deaconess. She “should be an obedient Christian, one who delivers the Lord’s peaceful message anointed by the Holy Spirit to men in need, just as the pigeon did for Noah in the Flood.”²⁶ She should be “an emblem of innocence, purity, and sincerity,” but also of “weakness, helplessness, and fear.”²⁷ The grooming of *Probeschwestern* did not strive to improve girls’ self-confidence or leadership skills. Self-denial, pious humility, and devoutness were far more characteristic of their education. Not for nothing, the following maxim can be read above the entrance to the motherhouse and in the preamble of the house rules: “He must become greater, I must become less” (John 3:30). The feminine associations of the pigeon and its sacred plainness made it a suitable symbol for the deaconesses and the spirit of the diaconate.²⁸ The pigeon was used on flags, official seals, letterhead, and publications to advance the diaconate’s service-driven mission beyond the borders of Germany.

The First Norwegian Motherhouse

In order to understand in concrete terms how Kaiserswerth and its network relationships molded the establishment of other motherhouses, a closer look will be taken at the development of the first Norwegian motherhouse. Scandinavian motherhouses were particularly shaped by Fliedner’s institute on the Rhine. At the order of local founding committees, the first directresses were chosen to be sent to Kaiserswerth and to be personally taught and consecrated by Fliedner himself, with the idea being that these deaconesses could spread Fliedner’s ideas upon returning to their home countries. This was the case for the motherhouse in Stockholm (est. 1851) as well as the motherhouse in Copenhagen (est. 1863).²⁹ The first directress of the Norwegian motherhouse, Cathinka Guldberg, was educated and consecrated as a deaconess in Kaiserswerth before returning to Christiania, near Oslo. She did not train under Fliedner, however, since his 1864 death predated her 1866 arrival in Kaiserswerth. The long journey into an unknown country at her own expense can be regarded as virtually storybook. Cathinka Guldberg was born in Christiania on January 3, 1840, the daughter of a priest. Her background fit Theodor Fliedner’s ideal of a deaconess candidate. Although Fliedner sought deaconess candidates among the educated, Christian circles of the middle class, he particularly tried to court the daughters of clergymen to join his institute, an ambition that, as he

admitted in the first Kaiserswerth General Conference, in large part did not succeed.³⁰ Due to their typified qualifications, daughters from the upper-middle and upper classes quickly assumed leading roles in motherhouses.

Following Cathinka Guldberg's two month-long training period, a practical test came into effect between July and October of 1866, when military hospitals were established throughout Saxony as a result of the Austro-Prussian War. Afterwards, she briefly worked for the Charité in Berlin. Sensing that the *Probeschwester* would quickly come to terms with any assigned placement, the leadership of the motherhouse dispatched her to work abroad in the hospital in Alexandria. Cathinka Guldberg's trust in God moved her to accept the challenge.

The founding of the first Norwegian motherhouse was prepared over the course of three years by an Inner Mission committee. The Outer Mission having made progress in Africa and the clergy having made progress in caring for Norwegian sailors in European ports, the dream for an independent motherhouse in Norway moved to the forefront. A popular publication about the existing institutes throughout Europe laid the groundwork for monetary donations to flood in from all around Norway. In November 1867, the Norwegian Inner Mission Society approached the Kaiserswerth director with the request to let *Fräulein* Guldberg leave service in order to engage in work in her home country, "since the founding of such an institution requires that a practiced deaconess must lead as directress."³¹ Sister Cathinka had already given her consent to assume the new position, but stipulated that she first learn the ropes as directress in Kaiserswerth. This example demonstrates how important the Kaiserswerth network was for the transfer of knowledge.

The Kaiserswerth institute was no doubt aware of its central importance but shied away from the consequences that its centrality occasionally had on day-to-day matters. The demand by outside fields of work for deaconess sisters was high, and the institute found it difficult to simply hand over its seasoned workforce. The entry into the institute and subsequent training as a *Probeschwester* went hand-in-hand with the expectation that the woman would work for the institute her whole life.³² It therefore took many letters of correspondence before the Norwegian sister Guldberg was released from service. In the present day as well as the nineteenth century, Christian institutions providing social services had to work cost-effectively in order to guarantee their continued existence. For the sisters who were stationed overseas, it was necessary to work at least two years in the abroad location so that the amount of achieved work offset the enormous cost of the journey.³³ Not only did the Norwegian Inner Mission Society have to pay for Cathinka Guldberg's return journey to Kaiserswerth from Alexandria, but they also had to pay for her replacement's outward journey to the abroad station at a cost of 225 Thaler.³⁴ In July 1868 the future directress made the journey back to Kaiserswerth and began acquainting herself with the workings of the motherhouse administration. On September 14 of the same year, the former *Probeschwester* became consecrated as a deaconess and subsequently moved back to Norway.

The newly erected institute opened with its first *Probeschwester* on November 20, 1868. The personal earnings of a deaconess were very low. As described in *Armen- und Krankenfreund*, a note is written in which the Kaiserswerth-educated directress is mentioned by her first name only.³⁵ The "endearing but faint-hearted" directress had to be supported by the former directress of the Stockholm Deaconesses' Home, Marie Cedersjöld. The twenty-eight-year-old Sister Cathinka surely apprehensively anticipated the challenge that lay before her. Having been educated according to specific guiding principles, she found herself amidst a tremendous tension between social demands

and her self-image. Only faith helped her conquer her initial despondency. Faced with such an enormous challenge, Cathinka Guldberg intermittently lost her way in life.³⁶

Guldberg had become so well settled in Kaiserswerth that she struggled to feel at home in Norway. In a letter to Fliedner's second wife and former directress, she wrote: „May He [God] preserve and protect you and bless us in his honor, for I can always be rest assured that I am indeed a child of Kaiserswerth.”³⁷ She continued to wear the bonnet of Kaiserswerth until the new motherhouse designed its own distinctive dress, which still borrowed heavily from the dress of the first motherhouse. Even the blue material used to make the clothing was brought in from Kaiserswerth.³⁸ The symbol of the pigeon became part of the new motherhouse's external appearance and continues to decorate its publications today.

In the correspondence between Cathinka Guldberg and Marie Cederschiöld, the former directress of the motherhouse in Stockholm, the former answered many of the latter's questions about life in Kaiserswerth, over which Cederschiöld would break out into tears of emotion and reminiscence since she herself had completed her deaconess training under Fliedner in the years 1850 to 1851.³⁹ The return journey and the founding days made apparent the deep emotional and informal bonds existing between the motherhouse offshoots and the germ cell of the female diaconate movement. For the first generation of deaconesses, Kaiserswerth was the organizational and spiritual epicenter of the movement, a kind of “Little Rome” for the female diaconate. There existed extensive personal contact between the motherhouse institutes and the center in Kaiserswerth. Through a running stream of correspondence, members were constantly being informed of current developments elsewhere and then spreading this knowledge further in publications.⁴⁰

Cathinka Guldberg's later letters with various Kaiserswerth recipients illustrate her continuing engagement with the thriving German worksite as well as with the foreign outpost in Alexandria. Despite her achievements in building up the motherhouse in Norway, her letters reveal a lingering sense of inferiority. One year after the founding of the Norwegian Motherhouse, she wrote in a letter to the directress: “As you may well know, dear Mother, we Norwegians are not so deft and capable as the Germans, a strong will and practice make but much.”⁴¹ Social disciplining through cleanliness and eschewal of idleness through hand and housework were virtues of Prussian Protestantism that Cathinka Goldberg actively sought to foster. The meager preparatory training of the young sisters was another of her concerns. Little did she realize that other motherhouses were also experiencing the same problems and were trying to rectify them through education, training, and discipline.⁴²

Over the course of three years, Sister Cathinka collected enough money to buy a larger house. However, even this house quickly became too small with the growing number of sisters joining the diaconate. In 1886, the diaconate gratefully found another new home when the estate Lovisenberg was gifted by a patron. On the estate, the institute expanded to include a motherhouse, a hospital, a nursing home, a children's home, and a space to spend after-work hours. In 1886, the Norwegian motherhouse was already employing 201 sisters, whose sphere of influence reached from the fishermen of the North Pole to the leper asylums of Madagascar to the mission stations in China.⁴³

Sister Cathinka Guldberg presided over the establishment for fifty-one years. A written note, written from her woman's perspective, reveals how much she savored the development of the motherhouse, on which she “directly applied the mark of her strong personality.”⁴⁴ She died in October 1919 after a bout of sickness at the age of nearly eighty. The reaction of Kaiserswerth toward her death notice was omitted as a result of Germany's isolation after the First World War. The General Conference

that convened in Kaiserswerth in 1920 made clear the dwindling bonding force between common traditions as well as the completely different situations of the German and foreign motherhouses. Kaiserswerth had lost the quality that had helped the motherhouse diaconate to survive and thrive during the founding phase; that is to say, its network of personal relationships had lost its power of attraction.

Annotations

¹ For a history of the Kaiserswerth diaconate, compare: Ruth Felgentreff: *Das Diakoniewerk Kaiserswerth 1836-1998. Von der Diakonissenanstalt zum Diakoniewerk – ein Überblick*, Düsseldorf, 1998; and: *Pietismus und Neuzeit. Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus*, Volume 23, 1997, p. 69-79; and: *Die Diakonisse. Beruf und Religion im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, in: Frank-Michael Kuhlemann / Hans-Walter Schmuhl (Hg.): *Beruf und Religion im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2003, p. 195-209. For older literature on the subject, consult: Martin Gerhardt: *Theodor Fliedner. Ein Lebensbild*, Volume 2, Düsseldorf 1933 und 1937; and Anna Sticker: *Friederike Fliedner und die Anfänge der Frauendiakonie. Ein Quellenbuch*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1963.

² Advertising letter from the motherhouse management for the recruitment of *Probeschwestern* from 23 March, 1949, in: Archive of the Fliedner Kulturstiftung Kaiserswerth (hereafter: FKSK), inventory 2-1 Diakonissenanstalt, Sign. 360.

³ The special role of the Strasbourg motherhouse with its emphasis on individual responsibility of the women in leadership roles will not be addressed here. Compare: Arnd Götzelmann: *Die Straßburger Diakonissenanstalt – ihre Beziehungen zu den Mutterhäusern in Kaiserswerth und Paris*, in: *Pietismus und Neuzeit. Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus*, Volume 23, 1997, p. 80ff.

⁴ The terms female diaconate and motherhouse diaconate are used synonymously throughout. Compare: Ute Gause: *Kaiserswerth als Erinnerungsort der Frauendiakonie – Ein Beispiel für die Dynamik des Kollektiven Gedächtnisses und die Fluktuation in Erinnerungsorten*, in: *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, 18. Jg., 2005, H. 1, p. 158-181, here p. 158.

⁵ For a history of the founding phase, see: Horst A. Wessek: *Düsseldorf und das Deutsche Krankenhaus in London*, in: *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins*, Volume 73, 2002, p. 175-216.

⁶ Confer: Uwe Kaminsky: *Die innere Mission Kaiserswerths im Ausland – Von der Evangelisation zum Bemühen um die Dritte Welt*, in: Norbert Friedrich / Traugott Jähnichen (Hg.): *Sozialer Protestantismus im Kaiserreich: Problemkonstellationen – Lösungsperspektiven – Handlungsprofile*, Münster 2005, p. 355-386. Kaiserswerth's engagement abroad will be the March 2006 subject of an international conference, the results of which will be compiled in an anthology. The personal experiences of deaconesses in foreign stations during the twentieth century were the subject of an oral history project carried out by Cordula Lissner. See: Cordula Lissner: *Arbeitsmigration ohne Migrationserfahrung. Kaiserswerther Schwestern im Auslandseinsatz*, in: Ute Gause / Cordula Lissner (Hg.): *Kosmos Diakonissenmutterhaus. Geschichte und Gedächtnis einer protestantischen Frauengemeinschaft*, Leipzig 2005.

⁷ Uwe Kaminsky: *Die innere Mission Kaiserswerths*, a.a.O., p. 359.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 374. Compare also: Theodor Fliedner: *Reisen in das heilige Land, nach Smyrna, Beirut, Constantinopel... 1851, 1856, und 1857*, Kaiserswerth 1858.

⁹ In the beginning years of the institute, the annual earnings of a deaconess consisted of 30 Thaler. Also provided were free board, accommodation, and clothing. This brought their total earnings up to the equivalent of 110 to 120 Thaler, an amount considered to be the minimum income for a working-class family of four. However, since the deaconesses' earnings did not adjust according to general price inflation, their salary soon became little more than pocket money. Compare: Anna Sticker: *Die Entstehung der neuzeitlichen Krankenpflege*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 369.

¹⁰ Ruth Felgentreff: *Die Diakonisse*, a.a.O., p. 204.

¹¹ Anna Sticker: *Friederike Fliedner*, a.a.O., p. 138.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 140.

¹³ To quote Ursula Schoen: The diaconate is feminine, the diaconry is masculine, in: *Tradition – Realität – Vision. Dokumentation der Fachtagung zur diakonischen Frauenforschung 24./25.11.2000*, Düsseldorf/Kaiserswerth 2000, p.31.

¹⁴ Ruth Felgentreff: *125 Jahre Kaiserswerther Generalkonferenz. Weg und Wandel in der Geschichte*, Bonn 1986, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund* (henceforth: AuKf), March/April 1861, p. 224 f. Reprinted also in: Jutta Schmidt: *Beruf Schwester, Mutterhausdiakonie im 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a.M. u.a. 1998, p. 154 f.

¹⁶ The archival materials of the *Kaiserswerther Verband* as well as of the General Conference can be found in the archives of the Fliedner Kulturstiftung Kaiserswerth. Compare: Ruth Felgentreff: *Profil eines Verbandes. 75 Jahre Kaiserswerther Verband*, Bonn 1991; and: Norbert Friedrich: *Der Mutterhausdiakonie*, 43. Jg., Juni 2005, H. 2, p. 39-41.

¹⁷ Compare: Dorothea Jansen: *Einführung in die Netzwerkanalyse*, Opladen 2003, p. 59. For a history of the General Conference, see: Ruth Felgentreff: *125 Jahre Kaiserswerther Generalkonferenz*, a.a.O.

¹⁸ Tanja Paulitz: *Netzsubjektivität/en. Konstruktionen von Vernetzung als Technologien des sozialen Selbst. Eine empirische Untersuchung in Modellprojekten der Informatik*, Münster 2005.

¹⁹ Manuel Castells: *Der Aufstieg der Netzwerkgesellschaft, Volume 1: Das Informationszeitalter*, Opladen 2001, p. 528.

²⁰ Compare: Ute Gause: *Kaiserswerth als Erinnerungsort*, a.a.O.

²¹ For the development of secular nursing care in Germany, confer: Anna Sticker: *Agnes Karll. Die Reformerin der deutschen Krankenpflege*, Stuttgart 1984.

²² From the Greek. The word deaconess (German: *Diakonisse*) derives from the Greek word *diakonos*, which refers to someone who serves others. A further discussion of the term shall not be pursued here for space reasons. For the origins of the term, compare: Martin Gerhard: *Theodor Fliedner*, a.a.O., p. 9 ff. Fliedner first became familiar with the term through the Mennonite circles of Holland.

²³ Neither Germanic nor Romance languages use the word "sister" for both areas of work. In English there is a distinction between a "nurse," someone who cares for the sick, and "sister," someone belonging to a religious order.

²⁴ For information about deaconess garments, see: Anna Sticker: *Friederike Fliedner*, a.a.O., p. 167 ff. as well as Martin Gerhard: *Theodor Fliedner*, a.a.O., p. 100f. Fliedner decided to use blue fabric for deaconess dress

since black seemed too nunlike; furthermore, blue was the main color of the Mosaic cult and therefore a symbol of the old league.

²⁵ Silke Köser has carried out comprehensive research on the deaconesses' construction of a collective identity during the nineteenth century. Silke Köser: "Denn eine Diakonisse kann = darf kein Alltagsmensch sein." Zur Konstruktion und Rekonstruktion der kollektiven Identität Kaiserswerther Diakonissen im 19. Jahrhundert, Erfurt 2002.

²⁶ AuKf, Nov. /Dec. 1850, p. 9ff. Report about the sermon given by Fliedner on the second day of Christmas celebrations.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Compare: Ute Gause: Kaiserswerth als Erinnerungsort, a.a.O., p. 162 f. Also discussed is the implementation of the modified symbol during the twentieth century.

²⁹ Julius Disselhoff: Jubilate! Denkschrift zur Jubelfeier der Erneuerung des apostolischen Diakonissenamtes und der fünfzigjährigen Wirksamkeit des Diakonissen-Mutterhauses zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein, Kaiserswerth 1886, p. 330 ff.

³⁰ For a comparison, see: Jutta Schmidt: Beruf Schwester, a.a.O., p. 122.

³¹ Letter from N. Nickelsen from 13 February, 1867, in: FKSK, 4-2 Ausgetretene Schwestern, Sign. 7.

³² The house rules stipulated a five-year obligation of working for the motherhouse with the option of prolonging the contract. Withdrawal meant that the sister assumed the costs of the home-bound trip herself.

³³ This rule was also applied in the twentieth century. Compare Cordula Lissner: Arbeitsmigration, a.a.O., p. 250 f.

³⁴ Letter from the money collector Fredrikedang from 13 February, 1868, in: FKSK, 4-2 Ausgetretene Schwestern, Sign. 7.

³⁵ Even the first name was written incorrectly, ending with an "e" instead of an "a." Compare: AuKf, March/April 1869, p. 60.

³⁶ Letter from Cathinka Guldberg to the directress in Kaiserswerth Caroline Fliedner from 20 October, 1868, in: FKSK, 4-2 Ausgetretene Schwestern, Sign. 7.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Letter from Sister Rikke Nissen dated 10 June, 1871, in: FKSK, from Fliedner's Estate, II Fn3 Mitwirkung bei der Gründung anderer Diakonissenhäuser. The development of deaconess dress within the Stockholm motherhouse.

³⁹ Julius Disselhoff: Jubilate!, a.a.O., p. 330.

⁴⁰ There have been multiple reports about the work carried out in Norway: AuKf, 1869, 1871, 1925.

⁴¹ Letter from Cathinka Guldberg dated 15 September, 1869, in: FKSK, from Fliedner's Estate, II Fn3 Mitwirkung bei der Gründung anderer Diakonissenhäuser.

⁴² For a comparison, see: Silke Köser: „Denn eine Diakonisse...“ a.a.O., p. 242 ff.; as well as: Jutta Schmidt: Beruf Schwester, a.a.O., here p. 214 ff.

⁴³ Julius Disselhoff: Jubilate!, a.a.O., p. 330.

⁴⁴ Ina von Matthiesen: Von der nordischen Diakonie, in: AuKf, Jan.-June 1995, p. 3-9.